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SOURCE Kung-jen Chieh-chi yu Kung-ch'an-tang (The Working Class and the
Communist Party). by Hsu Mou-yang, published by Chung-nan Jen-min
Ch'u-pan-she, Chinese Annotated Bibliography
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CCP THEORIST REAFFIRMS MARXIST DEFERENCE TO WORKING CLASS

Summary: This report gives information on CCP acceptance of the
Marxian analysis of society and the special revolutionary role of the
working class. In an address -- which constitutes the body of the
book -- delivered in the first quarter of 1952 to CCP cadres studying
party reform at Wuhan University, Hsu Mou-yang stated that the sus-
picious current among CCP members regarding (1) the nonproletarian
social origin of Marx and Engels and, consequently, their theoretical
writings and (2) the inevitability of the CCP becoming a working class,
rather than a peasant or petty bourgeois party, were non-Marxian and
unacceptable. Hsu said that the need for discipline among the cadres
during assignment to posts will be met by a thorough indoctrination in
the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

In his address delivered to cadres studying party rectification at the Wuhan
University, Hsu Mou-yang took for his theme the first of the eight standards for
CCP members, i.e., the phrase "The CCP is the Political Party of the Chinese
Working Class." The author stated in the preface that many cadres, aware that
Marx and Engels were nonproletarian intellectuals, considered the theories em-
bodied by Marxism a philosophical system created for the working class by
intellectuals rather than a system devised by the working class for and by it-
self. Because this suspicion was widespread, he quoted from Mao's *On Practice*:
"The knowledge of capitalist society possessed by the proletariat in the first
stage of its practice, the stage of machine-smashing and spontaneous struggle,
was only perceptual knowledge. It was only a knowledge of the individual aspects
and the external relations of the various phenomena of capitalism. At that time,
the proletariat was what is called a 'class in itself.' But when this class
reached the second stage of its practice, the stage of conscious, organized eco-
nomic and political struggle, there emerged the ideology of Marxism as a result
of the practice of the class, its experience of constant and continuous struggle,

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and the scientific summary and integration of all these experiences by Marx and Engels. When this ideology was used to educate the proletariat and enabled it to understand the essence of capitalist society, the relation of exploitation between classes, and its own historic task, it transformed itself into a 'class for itself.' Hsu concluded the preface by insisting that Marx and Engels had estranged themselves from the capitalist class and adopted the viewpoint of the working class in propounding their theories.

Two suspicions are dominant in the thinking of CCP cadres in the Wuhan area, said Hsu: (1) many cadres believe that the CCP is a peasant party and refer to the fact that of the 5.8 million members, a great many are peasants and (2) some cadres believe that the CCP is a party of petty bourgeois intellectuals and point out that there are a great many such intellectuals on all levels of leadership. To dispel these suspicions, Hsu made the following analysis of the nature of the predominant classes of Chinese society:

"The peasant and petty bourgeois classes are essentially backward and non-revolutionary. The working class is progressive and possesses the highest degree of revolutionary zeal. If the Communist Party were to represent either the peasant or the petty bourgeois class, what power would it gain and what future would it have to look to? The working class is closely connected with large-scale industrial production and is thus in a position to recognize the achievements of such production and the wealth which it produces; this class, which creates wealth, knows best how to expropriate wealth. The peasants do not possess the vision of a new future nor the desire for drastic change because of their close connection with individualistic, small peasant economics, their longing for a few mou of fertile soil, perennially rich harvests, and light taxation. Their conception of Communism does not go beyond approval of land redistribution. Petty bourgeois intellectuals are no better.

"Workers in large industrial enterprises are aware that industry is the bed-rock of a capitalist economy. A paralyzed industry means a paralyzed economy. They go out on strike, they disrupt, they seek power: they seek the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once in power they acquire the ideology of a ruling class. Lenin said: 'Communism is Soviet power plus national electrification.' This was the definitive formulation of the relation between working class power and industry.

"Further, the workers possess no private property; that is not to say that they do not possess their tattered shoes and garments. Marx defined private property as the means of production. Peasants and members of the petty bourgeoisie possess private property, i.e., certain of the means of production; the workers do not. Workers must sell their labor power to the capitalists and receive low wages in return. They become aware of the evils of private property and embittered and impoverished like no other class; they cannot have what they make. Unlike the peasants who may seize the land and farming tools of the expropriated landlords, they cannot dismantle machinery and divide up the parts; everyone would then have nothing. They must take the entire plant and maintain it intact for the people's government and in the people's service. Their task is first to destroy the previous existing property relations. In the words of Marx and Engels: 'The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurance of, individual property.'

"The very fact that the working class finds itself engaged in large-scale production permits it to become better organized, disciplined, and hardened. The working class is compensated with ever declining wages; the impoverishment of the

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workers increases; capitalist exploitation becomes unbearable. In the words of Marx and Engels: 'But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number: it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized; in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level.'

"Unity and discipline in the ranks of the working class is important. The centralism of the working class creates few problems: one for all and all for one is the principle. When all work for the benefit of the center, the benefit of the individual is guaranteed. The individualism accompanying petty property holders creates manifold problems. In assigning jobs to the graduates of Wuhan University, for instance, if individualism is rife, centralized control will be difficult and problems numerous. For example, in the matter of selecting the regions to which graduates will be assigned, some could demand to be located in Wuhan. If they are then sent to Wuhan, they could then ask about conditions in Wuchang and Hankow, about the state of government agencies in these cities. They could ask about the proximity of motion picture theaters, the beauty of the scenery, the tranquility of their surroundings, the possibility of going with close friends, and the conditions of living quarters. Thus it is clear that the concepts of centralism, organization, discipline, and class solidarity can arise only among the workers, whereas other classes cannot produce this elan and cognition.

"The ranks of the working class are continually expanding. In a Socialist and New Democracy country this expansion will approximate the tempo of national industrialization. Thus the eight standard requirements of the Communist in China speak of the CCP as being the party of the working class: 'The Chinese working class will continue to expand and will become, in numbers, the comparatively largest class. With the mechanization of farming and the utilization of machines by the Chinese peasants, these peasants will differ little from the workers. Finally, the distinction between intellectual and worker will also gradually disappear.' More and more the working class will produce its own intellectuals.

"There are a group of intellectuals of nonproletarian heritage who voluntarily entered the ranks of the working class and joined the Communist Party; they do not, therefore, belong to the class of original descent. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and others, although not of working class origin, recognized the laws of development in the history of society and consciously turned to the ranks of the working class, adopted the working class standpoint, developed a resolute revolutionary zeal in the working class, and were highly useful in the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class. Communist cadres attending Wuhan University must cast off the cloak of their classes of derivation and join the ranks of the proletariat, the vanguard group: the Communist Party. In the words of Marx and Engels: 'The lower strata of the middle class -- the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants -- all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their small capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, and partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.'

"In our discussions of the continuous expansion of proletarian ranks, the question of quality versus quantity always arose. Many comrades were suspicious: 'Why are the Chinese peasants incapable of leading the revolution -- their ranks are great in number -- and why is the working class capable of leading -- their

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ranks are very few?' It must be made clear that the power of an object does not lie in its size. Stalin said: 'From the dialectical frame of reference, the most important is not that which now seems to be strong, for it has already begun to lose strength, but that which is developing, growing, and which now seems to be weak. For dialectically, only the growing, the developing objects will be the invincible ones.' It is thus not the quantity but the quality, the potential that counts.

"The working class aims at international solidarity, not chauvinistic isolation. In the words of Marx and Engels: 'The proletariat is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character.' Thus internationalism is the ideology of the working class: the other classes are all incapable of comprehending its essence.

"The working class is supreme. It must lead the peasant and the petty bourgeoisie which classes must accept the leadership of Marxism-Leninism and the ideology of Mao Tse-tung. Some comrades have asked: 'The union of Marxism-Leninism with the working class led to the creation of the Communist Party. Well then, cannot the union of Marxism-Leninism with the peasants lead to the creation of a Peasant Party?' This is an impossibility. The reason is that Marxism-Leninism has no common ground in ideology with the peasantry. If there is to be a union, it can only go one way: the peasants must accept Marxism-Leninism and change their ideology accordingly, they must become members of the working class.

"Marx and Engels did not formulate their theories on the basis of their own personal knowledge as 'intellectuals,' but on the combined historical experiences of the working class. They analyzed capitalist society from the viewpoint of the working class, not from the frame of reference of the class from which they came, i.e., the bourgeoisie. With the possession of Marxism the working class has acquired its own revolutionary theory and strategy. Marxism promotes working class consciousness and arms the workers with a weapon with which to further their efforts in the class struggle. Marxism has transformed this class from a 'class in itself' to a 'class for itself.'

"Of course the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and even the progressive sector of the national bourgeoisie -- all oppressed by imperialism and domestic feudalism -- are revolutionary. They are revolutionary, however, only under the leadership of the proletariat and at a certain time, at a certain stage. These classes must remold their thinking along the lines of Marxism-Leninism and the ideology of Mao Tse-tung.

"We Communists must indoctrinate the peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and even the national bourgeoisie so that they may join with us in the march toward Socialism."

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